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PEACE PAPOOSE: STEPHEN ALLEN WILL REMEMBER ALDERMASTON
Mrs. Beth Allen and son as they prepared to join the march from Aldermaston to London in Britain's greatest demonstration in a century. See Cedric Belfrage's story—and plans for a New York demonstration—on p. 3.

U.S. MUST FACE UP TO FACTS

The Korea explosion: People fed up with cold war and cops

By Kumar Goshal

THE ACCUMULATED FURY of the people of South Korea, revolting against the U.S.-imposed dictatorship masquerading as democracy, burst all bounds in the last weeks of April. At GUARDIAN press time it seemed about to topple the government of President Syngman Rhee and even to send the hated Rhee himself to pasture.

The violence erupted in nine big cities of South Korea on April 19 in the course of the most massive popular demonstration thus far against the rule of President Syngman Rhee. In Seoul, the capital, on that day 100,000 college and high school students marched down the main thoroughfare toward Rhee's mansion as other thousands jammed the sidewalks and every bit of open space.

They halted about 150 yards from the Presidential palace. Armed and helmeted police refused to allow a delegation of four students to enter the grounds to present a petition to Rhee protesting police brutalities in the March 15 elections. When the students failed to retreat, police hurled tear gas bombs and turned fire hoses on them.

BATTLEGROUND SCENE: The enraged students, who had been orderly until then, smashed through a barbed wire fence and the curtain of tear gas and water to within 60 yards of the palace. Police opened fire and kept on firing until the crowd had turned back and the whole area resembled a battleground strewn with dead and wounded youngsters.

By nightfall Seoul hospitals were overflowing with the wounded. The Rhee government declared martial law in Seoul, Mansan, Taegu, Taejon and Kwangju. But the next day several hundred student rebels were reported fighting police and troops in the mountains northeast of Seoul; hundreds were marching in the other cities. Conservative estimates placed the two-day casualties at 250 dead and nearly 1,500 wounded; in Seoul itself, at least 92 were dead and 500 wounded.

THE U.S. STEPS IN: The Associated Press (April 19) called the unprecedented demonstration a "virtual revolutionary upheaval." It was grave enough for U.S. Ambassador Walter McConaughy to rush to Rhee and urge him to adopt measures to maintain law and order that "would take into account basic causes and grievances behind the disorders."

In an extraordinary statement to the press the U.S. Embassy said it "deplores any resort to violence." In Washington, the State Department in a concurring statement added that the grievances in-

(Continued on Page 10)

A MEMORABLE SPEECH IN CONGRESS

James Roosevelt: Abolish the Un-Americans!

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

ABOLITION of the House Committee on Un-American Activities was urged in a hard-hitting 60-minute speech by Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) to the House of Representatives April 25. (Major excerpt of the speech, p. 5.)

Rep. Roosevelt attacked the committee as "an agency for the destruction of human dignity and constitutional rights . . . sanctimoniously cruel . . . a terrible agency . . . ." He documented a detailed exposure of the committee's foray against California teachers in 1959, which he called "one of the most shameful episodes in the history of the House."

Roosevelt had announced this speech on Jan. 21 when he protested in the House against the sneak passage of the committee's 1960 appropriation the day before. In 1959 the California Representative introduced H. Res. 53 to abolish the committee and transfer its jurisdiction over "seditious activities" to the regular House Judiciary Committee. In his speech this year Roosevelt amended his position and simply called for outright abolition of the Committee.

The strong Roosevelt blast was preceded on April 19 by an oblique attack on the committee by 15 Congressmen who defended the National Council of Churches against the red-baiting smear in Air Force training manuals backed up by committee chairman Rep. Francis Walter (D-Pa.). Led by Rep. Edith Green (D-Ore.), the Congressmen put a number of strong attacks on the committee by leading citizens and organizations into the **Congressional Record.**

DANGEROUS BILLS: The current upsurge against the committee comes when its standing is at the lowest ebb in years. The spectacle of the recent California teacher and Puerto Rican hearings and the complicity in what Roosevelt calls "the bizarre episode" of the smear against the Protestant churches has crystallized much latent opposition to Rep. Walter's activities. This development is helped by the fact that in the recent sell-out on civil rights legislation, four of the nine committee members followed a straight Dixiecrat line and Rep. Walter was a leader in the anti-civil rights deal.

There is real danger to civil liberties from several bills to upset favorable Supreme Court decisions which have passed the House and are now pending in the Senate (see list, page 4.) A similar situation existed in 1958 when passage of such measures was barely stopped at the last minute of the Senate session. It is uncertain that this will be repeated in 1960 unless Senators hear requests from

home to oppose the attacks on the Supreme Court and its pro-Bill of Rights decisions.

Roosevelt's need for support from back home also was demonstrated by the fact that at no time were there more than 12 Congressmen in attendance during his speech, although it had been well publicized in advance. GUARDIAN readers are urged to let their own Congressmen know how they feel about the speech.

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THE AFL-CIO CONFERENCE ON WORLD AFFAIRS

Meany puts labor on record for more cold war

By Robert E. Light

THE PLAQUE over the dais read "AFL-CIO Conference on World Affairs," but if the speakers had worn overseas caps, it might easily have been an American Legion convention.

"The continuing threat to human survival and progress stems from one source and one source only—Soviet Russia. . . . Moscow invented and initiated the cold war," AFL-CIO president George Meany said in opening the conference, which was called to offer "competent clarification and understanding" of the issues facing the Summit meeting.

About 500 top- and middle-echelon labor leaders met at the Commodore Hotel in New York, April 19-20, to hear Meany warn Washington to "negotiate as realists." He urged the West to "serve notice on Khrushchev, once and for all, that the free world will proceed, at whatever cost, to achieve overwhelming superiority—militarily, economically and technologically—in order to preserve world peace and human freedom. Only then will the danger of aggression and war be reduced and the prospects for peace, freedom and security improved."

FAR TO THE RIGHT: Discussion from the floor was sparse, although many in the audience knew that Meany's exhortations against relaxation of world tensions were out of step with history. Some took the floor to oppose Meany, but against the saber-rattling from the dais, their opposition was feeble. That any opposition was expressed, however, is a step forward from past AFL-CIO meetings. But the sum of the conference was to put labor on record to the right of Richard Nixon on foreign affairs.

One of the apparent arrangements in the AFL-CIO merger is for leaders of former CIO unions and liberals to step aside for Meany's foreign policy. But Meany's position on world affairs, and

(Continued on Page 8)

THE MAIL BAG

Fine examples

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Why can't we have our presidential election the same way as those two mighty Free Democracies, Formosa and South Korea?

Like Formosa, we could suspend our 22nd Amendment (prohibiting a third term) for the present state of emergency, i.e., as long as Communists are in Russia. And like in South Korea, where the only candidate against President Syngman Rhee was dead, the Democrats could nominate F.D.R.

This way we would save a lot of election money we so badly need for missiles and fall-out shelters.

Ben H. Jones

Mad world

DAVOS-PLATZ, SWITZERLAND

How is it that the men who wantonly killed 100,000 innocent women and children by atom bomb in Hiroshima and Nagasaki now walk about in honorable (save the word) freedom, while a sex scoundrel, who never killed anyone, has been tortured for 12 years and even yet may go to the gas chamber?

It's a mad world! The greater the crime the greater the honor!

Robert Little, M.D.

Fat chance!

BREEZY BANKS, N.C.

I suggest that the State Dept. should now come forth with a statement of policy that the world can applaud, namely:

- Cuba is a sovereign state. The nature of her internal regime is of no concern to the United States. The Cuban people have the right to set up, within their own borders, any kind of a state they choose by whatever means they choose.
- The actions of Cuba become the concern of the United States only when Cuba commits, or forces based in Cuba commit, armed aggression against the United States or against some other sovereign state—by virtue of the United Nations Charter, armed aggression by any state against any other state becomes the concern of all states.
- American business interests investing their funds outside the jurisdiction of the United States do so entirely at their own risk and subject to the unpredictable vicissitudes of foreign law.

Vernon Ward

International work camps

CABOT, VERMONT

Many of your readers who may travel in Europe this summer will be interested in learning more about our international work camps and their contribution to better understanding between people.

International Voluntary Service offers an opportunity for individuals over 18 to do manual work of a constructive nature to help others who are in need. This organization is non-political and non-sectarian.

Volunteers on the projects may range in age from 18 to 70. The fellowship of other volunteers of different beliefs and from other countries is an important part of the work camp life.

Volunteers who are accepted are given food, lodging and insurance, but they must provide their own transportation. The minimum period of service in IVS camps is two weeks. The work varies from making old peoples' homes more comfortable to building a school to digging ditches or constructing roads. Camps are held in most countries of Europe, including occasional camps in the East European area. We have held several East-West projects in an effort to bridge the gap in understanding. Projects are being held in both Poland and Russia this summer in cooperation with youth organizations in these countries. These work camps, however, are open only to experienced volunteers.

We will be happy to send more information to those interested.

Robert Stowell,
Secretary

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Dr. Bentley Glass, a professor at the Johns Hopkins University and president of the American Association of University Professors, cited a personal experience to prove his point that government secrecy is choking off scientific advancement in this country. His remarks were made at the association's annual meeting.

He said he went to West Germany ten years ago for the State Department. He turned in his report but was never allowed to see it again because he did not have sufficient clearance to examine such top secret information.

—Baltimore **Sun, April 17**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: M. H., Baltimore, Md.

On retirement

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

There is great need for a series of articles on retirement. Where — cost — climate — medical services — entertainment — usefulness—doing something we may be trained for.

Places to be covered should be the U.S.A., Mexico, Cuba,, Caribbean islands, European socialist countries, China, etc. Your correspondents living in these countries could give us a more helpful picture than the Chamber of Commerce or Madison Avenue.

It would be most interesting to learn what the citizens of the socialist countries do on their retirement, what their pension buys them, etc., and if a U.S. citizen can go there and live for an indefinite time, what would the cost be, including medical services, etc.

Since H3, everybody wants to go to Rumania. With socialized medicine in England there is great interest. Cuba too has a complete medical plan that many more people should know about. What about other medical, drug, dental plans in other places?

I know you will be doing a most needed service to those on social security and many like myself who are thinking about retirement and haven't the money to travel to these areas to find out.

Max Mansfield

High school loyalty oaths

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Upon graduation, the students of New York City's high schools are confronted by a loyalty oath. If a student refuses to sign the oath he forfeits his diploma. We feel that this loyalty oath should be repealed, and our reasons are as follows:

1. Our loyalty as Americans should be unquestioned.
2. The loyalty oath presupposes that we are not loyal.
3. No oath can force loyalty upon anyone.
4. This oath is not a national requirement, nor even a requirement of New York State. The insinuation is that New York City students are suspect, and have less integrity, loyalty and honesty than others.
5. Our signatures have no authority before the age of 21. Therefore we can never be held to this oath and it is invalid.
6. After 12 years of study and work it is unfair to deprive students of their diplomas on the grounds of a special loyalty oath.

We have circulated petitions in the various high schools, and have received generally good response from students.

This is extremely important to me and to my fellow students. Many of us are now juniors, and I see a great hope that we will not be faced by a loyalty oath upon graduation, as it is a year away—I for one have no intention of signing this oath, although I do not condemn what it says, only what it stands for.

Bobbie Applezweig

Lancaster, London Daily Express

"Goody, goody! Now all the poor French have to worry about is Algiers and their H-bomb."

For Henry Winston

MAYS LANDING, N.J.

Who's running from whom
on the outskirts of town?
What's that slum I see us living in?
Where's your job I lose first
because your skin is black?
Are you bleeding? Am I wounded?
Who's the hounded slave?
Who winces at the bite of the dogs?
Your agony is a shirt we wear.
It would be easy to escape
if you didn't carry our country on the soles of your shoes.

Walter Lowenfels

Cover to cover

SPRING VALLEY, CALIF.

I anxiously await the GUARDIAN every week and usually read it front to back page before laying it aside.

George Lehr

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

SENATOR JOSEPH McCARTHY, one of the noisiest freshmen ever to hog the Senate spotlight, has often said he will be the nation's first Catholic President.

Voters—and especially Catholic Americans who would be thus honored—are entitled to a close look at the soil where this Presidential timber grows. His roots in Chiang Kai-shek's lobby are well known.

It is not so well known that the Wisconsin Senator is fronting for a much bigger and more important lobby—the pro-Nazi lobby—which opposed the war against Germany, spearheaded the "soft peace" campaign, and now leads the drive to rebuild and rearm the Anti-Comintern Axis.

McCarthy may look like one of the lunatic fringe. But the group he fronts for has long successfully served as a flying wedge for pro-Axis policies later put over by more "respectable" groups.

— From the National Guardian, May 3, 1950

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REPORT TO READERS

O to be in Havana . . .

FOR OUR CUBA TRIP JULY 24-Aug. 6, coinciding with the Island-wide July 26 liberation fiesta, we're booked for the first ten days into the very special Hotel Rosita de Hornedos, on the seashore in the Miramar section of Havana. The blue water of the Florida Straits rolls right up to the sea wall of the hotel's esplanade, which has two swimming pools (one for youngsters) in addition to 200 yards of ocean front.

There are 175 air-conditioned suites with private terraces, the main dining room (air-conditioned, of course) perches on a pier out over the water, and there is a dining veranda, too, for those who prefer to let the sea breezes cool them. There is an air-conditioned cocktail lounge, two convention halls, one seating 6,500 (in case we have an overflow), a salon with one of Beethoven's pianos in it; and all just eight minutes from the heart of Havana (hourly bus service, or rent your own Rambler, $5 a day plus mileage at 6c per kilometer.)

We thought we'd better do it high, wide and handsome, as our Havana hosts have proposed, since we sought the maximum coolth available in Havana in July and they are concerned that the GUARDIAN visitors have the best possible accommodations for what promises to be a bumper crowd.

AFTER ROSITA (to which we return for a final evening together in Havana) we go to the government-owned Oasis Hotel at Varadero Beach for a two-day rest which all will probably welcome if all the events we plan for our ten days in Havana come to pass.

Those we are sure of are two sight-seeing tours (by air-conditioned bus, naturally)—one a city-country excursion through the residential suburbs, neighboring villages and countryside and to sugar, tobacco and pineapple fields; the other a city tour along the Paseo de Marti (Prado), Havana's Champs Elysees, and including a whole guidebook of points of interest.

As optional tours there will be available the traditional trip to Morro Castle and an all-day excursion to an agrarian cooperative now operating one of Cuba's vast, formerly privately-owned estates. Also (for about $30 extra air fare) there will be available the 500-mile side trip to Santiago de Cuba. For those who like to sit around after dinner, we plan a few evening get-togethers at the Rosita de Hornedos.

AT VARADERO BEACH, a sight to see while we're there is the new orphanage set up by the Castro government in Fulgencio Batista's beachhouse. (The Castro government is especially concerned for its children. There is a legend about the historic Camp Columbia military installation that whoever controls Camp Columbia, controls Cuba. When Castro's forces took it over, Fidel Castro, reminded of the legend, said, "In that case, the children will control Cuba." And Camp Columbia is now a children's city which you can visit.)

The price for the GUARDIAN tour will be $350. This covers all transportation, including the four-hour flight from New York and back, the scheduled tours, the two-hour bus ride to Varadero, breakfasts and dinners at both hotels, tips, baggage transportation, etc. For those who want single room suites (instead of doubling up tourist-style) it will come to about $20 more for the whole trip. Chicago-Midwest people can join the tour at Miami for about $10 additional air-fare; about $110 extra from Los Angeles and the West.

Originally we had planned to leave New York late Saturday, July 23, reaching Havana that evening. Because of many requests among those reserving early for a day to visit in New York, we now plan to leave Sunday, July 24, at 3:30 p.m.

A $50 DEPOSIT should accompany your reservation as a down payment on your air flight (via Cubana Airlines) and hotel accommodations. Address your reservation or inquiry to Guardian Tour, 197 E. Fourth St., New York 9, N.Y.

Happy to have you aboard!

—THE GUARDIAN

P.S.—Of course, YOU might not have to pay a penny: All you have to do is win the Grand Prize in our Spring Subscription Contest—a free trip with the GUARDIAN tour, all expenses paid (see page 4).

ALDERMASTON: 'A GREAT CAVALCADE OF CONSCIENCE'

100,000 participate in Britain's greatest peace rally

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

AT THE CRITICAL hour just before the Summit, the peace movement has scored a more spectacular achievement than the wildest optimist could have predicted. For any demonstration in Britain comparable with the third Easter week-end Aldermaston March against nuclear weapons, historians must look back more than a hundred years to the time of the Chartists.

Nine thousand marchers—three times last year—set out on the 55-mile trek from Britain's H-bomb plant, and grew to 10,000 by the first evening, 15,000 by the second, 20,000 by the third. When the peace army marched up Whitehall to Trafalgar Square some 45,000 strong, the welcoming crowd was already so huge that police estimated 100,000 people "in the area" and said it was "bigger than the VE or VJ night celebrations." The procession took two hours to march in.

When it was over, Beaverbrook's **Express** was all alone in right field muttering about "hairy horrors who don't wash" and Communist-line dupes. The **Times** gave the march two inches after the first day, and 55 including art after the last.

THE U.S. CONTINGENCY OF 100 IN THE ALDERMASTON MARCH WAS THE LOUDEST OF ALL
This year's ban-the-bomb rally was London's greatest demonstration in more than a century

DEEP IMPRESSION: The nature of the break-through was best shown in the right-wing **Daily Mail**, which first warned its worthy middle-class readers to stay away and then reported thus on the MARCH OF THE LITTLE MAN IN A MAC:

"A great cavalcade of conscience . . . soberly impressive . . . a gorgeous cross-section of Britons, priests and politicians, atom scientists and maiden aunts, Communists and Tories, bus drivers and bank clerks, teachers and tots, a woman of 83 and a boy of eight weeks . . . Young beauties in the Bardot mold, shaggy-haired undergraduates . . . oddities and cranks outnumbered [by] middle-class, middle-of-the-road people . . . The preponderance of Left Wing banners did not bother them: 'The bomb has no politics,' said a Liverpool greengrocer . . . It was quiet, anonymous, 'We've never done this kind of thing before' individuals who made the deepest impression."

The extreme right-wing **Telegraph** noted the "great increase this year in the proportion of doctors, lawyers, architects and other professional people taking part." The Laborite **Mirror** continued to disagree with unilateral nuclear disarmament but editorialized: "Only mugs have sneered. What other country can show such convincing evidence that democracy includes the right to protest? . . . Proof that ordinary people CAN AND DO CARE about the way the world is run."

CAUSE OF GROWTH: The extraordinary growth of the movement was attributed to two main factors in addition to the approaching Summit. One was the recent government admission that Britain might get four minutes' warning of annihilation—"Just time to make a last cup of tea," as one banner in the march put it. The other was this month's abandonment of the "Blue Streak" missile program—an admission that the $1,400,000,000 Britain has spent over 12 years on missile development has been totally wasted. This would have paid subsidies for 400,000 public housing units, an extra $3 week for a year to all old age pensioners, schools for 120,000 children, fully-equipped new hospitals with 6,500 beds, and five new universities for 25,000 students.

At Easter week-end conferences of working-class organizations it was pointed out that Britain needs 130,000 new teachers, yet teacher-training colleges turned away 1,000 applicants in a year for lack of room; and that 3,000 of Britain's 8,000 physicists working in industry and government service are engaged on military projects. The Co-Operative Party conference rebelled against the nuclear line of the Labor Party to which it is affiliated, and voted overwhelmingly for unilateral nuclear disarmament. Meanwhile the latest Gallup Poll shows less than one in three in favor of Britain continuing H-weapon production, and 26% in favor of giving up the Bomb entirely.

CROSS SECTION: This year's protest march featured the banners of a dozen-odd unions and shop-steward organizations, Roman Catholics, Quakers ("For Christ's Sake Disarm"), and "Some Tories Also March" followed by "Liberals Too." A small boy carried the slogan: "60% More Strontium in Children's Bones." A mother had knitted "Ban the Bomb" in scarlet letters into her baby's white sweater.

Groups from 17 foreign lands carried their national banners. (A British group simultaneously marched in a demonstration in West Germany.) The column of about 100 behind the "U.S.A." banner was almost continuously applauded by street onlookers. They included a delegation of 16 Los Angeles women en route to the 50th anniversary of International Women's Day in Copenhagen, headed by attorney Mrs. Jean Pestana and Mrs. A. C. Harris Bilbrew who bore an official accreditation from Los Angeles County.

Marching through the lush Belgravia section of London, Mrs. Anita Restadha of the People's Independent Church of Christ, Los Angeles, had its starchy denizens rubbing their eyes with horrified delight at the lung-power of the U.S. contingent as she led them in John Brown's Body, When the Saints Go Marching In and We Shall Not Be Moved. These, in infinite word-variations, were the main singing themes of all the marchers, together with the Nuclear Disarmament Campaign hymn:

Men and women, stand together,
Do not heed the men of war,
Make your mind up now or never,
Ban the bomb for evermore.

THE ABSENT ONES: Students on the march had increased to 5,000 from 1,000 last year. One group was singing this variant: "Gaitskell is our leader, He shall be removed . . ." If a reporter's job was more to note who wasn't there than who was, the top Labor Party leaders were most conspicuous by their absence. Gaitskell was in the U.S. lecturing on "Opposition," still apparently unaware where the only effective British opposition is. Oxford professor A. J. P. Taylor caused a sensation in his Trafalgar Square speech by charging Gaitskell with having banned from the march a "Shadow Cabinet" member who wanted to participate.

The smooth efficiency of the operation drew warm praise from press and police. Every available man and woman cop was on duty along the route and in the square, but there was not a single snarl or "incident" and they had little to do except control spectators and the miles-long traffic jams.

With literally an army to move, feed and quarter through four days and three nights, the CND's amateur generals faced staggering logistical problems. More than 600 cars, baggage vehicles and motorcycle outriders, a first aid team, 15 nurses and welfare workers for the children, and many mobile canteens were involved. The canteens served tens of thousands of sandwiches, pies and eggs each day, and 30,000 cups of tea in one afternoon rest hour. Marchers were distributed around dozens of schools and halls in the night-stop towns (to sleep on the floor) and hotels were booked solid weeks before.

From the dense sidewalk crowds came applause and smiles and almost no expression of hostility. Onlookers were hopelessly outnumbered by marchers. From the windows of a London barracks guardsmen bantered with the marchers and one held up to the weary peace army a sign scrawled on a blackboard: "Horses for hire." In Trafalgar Square marchers soothed their feet in the fountains or lay down for forty winks if they could find anywhere to lie. For 50 of them the walk had only just begun. They took off via Geneva for Paris, with a huge Aldermaston banner, to lobby the Summit.

AMERICAN PEACE ACTIONS

SANE Madison Sq. rally May 19

SHOWN BELOW are some of the 40 peace marchers who arrived in Chicago on April 15 after completing a 3-day, 35-mile hike from Great Lakes, Ill., to protest the nuclear arms race and to urge world disarmament. The march was one of many peace activities planned for the coming weeks.

In New York, 17,000 persons are expected to attend a Madison Square Garden rally sponsored by the National Committees for a Sane Nuclear Policy on May 19. G. Mennen Williams, governor of Michigan, Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and others will speak at the meeting, which will be presided over by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Dr. Harold Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence College. Entertainment will be provided by Harry Belafonte, Mike Nichols and Elaine May, Tom Poston and Orson Bean.

Tickets and information about the rally may be obtained from the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, 17 E. 45th St., New York City, OX 7-2265. Admission is $10, $5, $3, $2, $1, and 50c (for students only).

On May 3, the Civil Defense Protest Committee, 158 Grand St., Room 10, N.Y.C., will hold a sitdown demonstration at City Hall Park during a scheduled Civil Defense exercise. The Committee was formed to combat "the futility of civilian defense preparations in an era when there is no defense against massive nuclear war." Demonstrators are instructed to sit quietly while the sirens blow until arrested or asked to leave by the police.

New Yorkers—a reminder: Burnham Memorial Apr. 28

FOR THE Louis E. Burnham Memorial meeting Thursday evening, April 28, at New York Center, 227 W. 46th St., New York City, Paul Robeson has sent a tape recorded message including a Langston Hughes poem set to music, and a quotation from William Blake's **Jerusalem.**

THE DRIVE TO 'CURB THE COURT'

Danger: These bills threaten your freedoms

Many anti-civil liberties bills, already passed by the House, are pending in the Senate. Most of the bills are aimed at nullifying the Supreme Court's decisions of recent years reaffirming the Bill of Rights. There is a real danger that most of these bills will be rushed through in the closing weeks of the Congress before the July political conventions. The GUARDIAN urges all readers to keep the schedule below and to write to their Senators to oppose the bills. The analysis was based on research by the Washington, D.C., office of the United Electrical Workers.

INDUSTRIAL SCREENING: Authorizes the Secretary of Defense to prescribe uniform standards and criteria for determining the eligibility for access to classified defense information of any person who has a contract or a subcontract with a military department, or an employe of any such person. It nullifies the Supreme Court's Greene decision. **ACTION:** House: Passed January, 1960. Senate: S. 776, 2134, 2392 in Committee.

GOVERNMENT WORKERS SCREENING: Several bills dealing with the loyalty program already in existence, modifying, broadening, etc. (Nullifies Supreme Court's Slochower decision). **ACTION:** House: Hearings completed. Senate: Hearings begun on S. 1489 in Post Office Committee; S. 1301 in Judiciary.

ESPIONAGE & SABOTAGE: Extends the application of chapter 37 of title 18, U.S. Code, relating to espionage and censorship, to acts committed anywhere in the world (now the provisions apply only within the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the U.S. on the high seas, and within the U.S.). **ACTION:** House: Passed March 3, 1959. Senate: Hearings held on S. 1646.

EXPATRIATION & DEPORTATION: Establishes a sole and exclusive procedure for the judicial review of all final orders of deportation; permits Attorney General to deport or to detain at any time after issuance of a deportation order. **ACTION:** House: Passed July 6, 1959.

FOREIGN AGENTS' REGISTRATION ACT: Strengthens the FARA by (1) including in the definition of a "foreign principal" domestic partnerships or other associations financed in whole or substantially by a foreign government or foreign political party; (2) changing the exemptions so as to include therein persons engaged in private and non-political activities in furtherance of a trade. **ACTION:** House: Passed Aug. 31, 1959.

HISS ACT: Amends the law which prohibits the payment of retired pay or annuities to officers or employes of the U.S. convicted of certain offenses; adds offenses involving the national security. **ACTION:** House: Passed April 14, 1959.

"Give him our loyalty test . . . See if he'll work for 15 bucks a week."

Senate: Bill 144 reported. Passed over five times on Calendar Call.

SUCCESSOR ORGANIZATIONS: Provides a procedure whereby a final order of the SACB requiring an organization to register as a Communist organization, or determining it to be Communist-infiltrated, shall apply to an organization determined by the SACB to be a successor organization. Requires SACB to consider the identity between the managers, policies, assets and membership of the alleged successor, etc. **ACTION:** House: Passed Sept. 7, 1959.

BROADEN DEFINITIONS UNDER SUBVERSIVE LAWS: Provides that under the U.S. criminal provisions of law relating to advocating overthrow of the government, that the term "organize" include recruiting of new members, forming new units, and regrouping or expansion of existing clubs, etc. As passed, bill also redefines "advocacy" and "treason." (Nullifies Supreme Court's Yates decision.) **ACTION:** House: Passed March 2, 1959. Senate: Hearings held on S. 527, 1300, 1305.

PASSPORTS: Provide standards for the issuance of passports, etc. (Nullifies Supreme Court's Kent-Briehl-Dayton decisions.) **ACTION:** House: Passed Sept. 8, 1959. Senate: S. 2095. Hearings pending in three committees.

MALLORY BILL: Provides that evidence, including statements and confessions, otherwise admissible, shall not be inadmissible solely because of delay in taking an arrested person before an official empowered to commit to custody. (Nullifies Supreme Court's Mallory decision.) **ACTION:** House: Passed July 7, 1959.

SUPREME COURT: Prohibits any Act of Congress from being construed as indicating an intent on the part of Congress to occupy the field in which such act operates, to the exclusion of all state laws on the same subject matter unless such act specially contains a provision to that effect, or unless there is a direct and positive conflict between state and Federal law. Specifically allows sedition, subversive activities, etc., to be prosecuted in both state and Federal courts. (Nullifies Supreme Court's Nelson decision.) **ACTION:** House: Passed June 24, 1959. Senate: Hearings held on S. 3.

Drawing by Fred Wright

"I like the straightforward way you dodged those issues, Senator."

SUPREME COURT: Except to the extent specifically provided by Federal statute, the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954, or any other Federal law prescribing criminal penalties for acts of subversion or sedition against the Federal or a state government shall not prevent the enforcement, in the courts of any state, state statutes prescribing criminal penalties for such offense. (Nullifies Supreme Court's Nelson decision.) **ACTION:** House: H.R. 2368 reported out. Senate: Hearings held on S. 294 and S. 1299.

NOTE: The Senate Judiciary Committee (Internal Security subcommittee) has also held hearings on S. 1302 providing concentration camps for aliens. The hearings on passport legislation were conducted in the House by the Judiciary Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee, with the bill reported by the Foreign Affairs Committee acted on. The hearings in the Senate are being conducted by the Senate Judiciary Committee, the Foreign Relations Committee and the Government Operations Committee. The House Un-American Activities Committee has also held hearings on this subject.

THE FIGHT WILL GO ON

Uphaus clemency bids fail

DR. WILLARD UPHAUS, 69-year-old pacifist who has been in a New Hampshire jail for nearly five months for refusing to be an informer, lost two clemency appeals on successive days. Superior Court Judge George R. Grant, after conferring for an hour with Uphaus' lawyer Hugh Bownes and state Atty. Gen. Louis C. Wyman, turned down the appeal without comment on April 21 in Concord, N.H. Grant had sentenced Uphaus to a year in jail last December for refusing to turn over to Wyman a list of guests at World Fellowship, a resort Uphaus and his wife manage.

Gov. Wesley Powell on April 20 rejected an appeal by Rev. John Swomley, national secy. of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and four other ministers. Powell said he had no authority in the case. But, he added, even if he had the power, he would not pardon Uphaus. "I am convinced," he said, "by the whole record that the refusal of Uphaus to comply with the just order of the court is not a matter of conscience with him." Swomley accused Powell of using the occasion as "an opportunity to make political capital."

Swomley also complained to Powell of the conditions at Merrimack County Jail. Uphaus is confined to his cell and an exercise area ten feet wide and 60 feet long. He can receive only four visitors a week and he must speak to visitors through a screened and barred barrier. Uphaus has compared the prison to "a Model T Ford on the Indianapolis Speedway."

LETTERS WELCOMED: Rev. Donald Soper, well-known British pacifist, who is in the U.S. on a speaking tour, was refused permission to visit Uphaus on April 25 because it was not a regular visiting day. Soper's explanation that he would be in Toronto on the regular visiting day was to no avail.

The New York **Times** commented editorially: "As long as Dr. Willard Uphaus remains in jail, the conscience of many Americans will rest uneasily." The editorial pointed out that the Supreme Court in a unanimous decision last month upheld the refusal of Mrs. Daisy Bates to turn over the NAACP membership list to Little Rock officials. The Court held that such disclosure might result in harassment and added that in this case the "threat of substantial government encroachment upon important and traditional aspects of individual freedom is neither speculative nor remote." The **Times** added: "Neither was it in the Uphaus case."

Mrs. Ola Uphaus said the fight to free her husband will continue. But, she pointed out, expenses are very heavy and funds are low. Persons who wish to help the fight should send contributions to Mrs. Ola Uphaus, 55 Edgewood Ave., New Haven, Conn.

Dr. Uphaus has told friends that his greatest pleasure in his drab confinement is receiving mail. Letters should be sent to him at Merrimack County Jail, Boscawen, N.H.

GUARDIAN picnic June 26 at Hallinan's in Ross, Calif.

THE ANNUAL GUARDIAN picnic in the San Francisco-Bay Area region will be held June 26 at the Hallinan home, corner of Lagunitas and Glenwood Avenues, Ross, Calif. On the program are: swimming, folk dancing, a special area for children's supervised play, dinner and snacks, and a short talk by a noted California personality. Information about the picnic may be obtained from Clarence Vickland, 3936 Canon Ave., Oakland 2, Calif., KE 3-7776.

There must be time

I WANT to goosepimple your flesh
panic your heart
pelt you with terror for one instant
long enough to say:
Auschwitz
Maidanek
Treblinka
Warsaw Ghetto!

Oh, there will be time enough
for Helena Rubinstein to beautify you
for Geritol to revitalize you
for Arrid to deodorize you
for No-Cal to slenderize you
for every name brand to filterize your
smoke.

But there must be time to observe
an instant of pain
a moment of anger
a minute of thought
time enough to say:
Never again.

—Yuri Suhl

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'A CONTINUING DISCREDIT TO THE COUNTRY'

James Roosevelt: Abolish the Un-American Committee

Following are major excerpts of the address by Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.), urging the abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee, in the House of Representatives April 25.

MR. SPEAKER, I again rise to speak in behalf of the necessity and the responsibility of this body to abolish the Committee on Un-American Activities.

The idea of investigating an area labelled "Un-American Activities" is itself so vague and subjective that it inevitably devolves into name-calling at the lowest level. So too with attempts to defend the idea. Thus, it initially surprised me that my proposal should be answered by an **ad hominem** [appealing to one's prejudices] attack on certain persons and groups who also want to abolish the Committee.

I, of course, don't care whether or not the Communists do or don't applaud my efforts in seeking to abolish the Committee. I'm not doing it for them nor any other group. I speak for myself. I'm doing it for the country as a whole and, I feel, for the good reputation of this House.

I am, as I say, prepared to have this speech met by vilification rather than reasoned exposition, because the latter type of argument on behalf of the Committee simply will not suffice to justify its existence. Very likely I will merely escape with being called a dupe or unwitting "handmaiden" of Communism. I'm certain I can survive that level of insult.

The list of Committee critics, or what the Committee calls dupes or malevolent conspirators, has increased tremendously within the past year. Criticism has come from segments of society whose anti-Communist purity is beyond question.

MY CONVICTION is that the Committee is closer to being dangerous to America in its conception than most of what it investigates. My conviction is that it is a continuing discredit to the country and, more immediately, to this House. My conviction is that so long as we continue its existence, we must equally share the guilt for the evil which it does. Specifically, I am convinced that the major activity of the Committee which we have licensed is the abridgment of the citizen's freedoms; that insofar as the Committee has legitimate functions which it occasionally performs,

REP. JAMES ROOSEVELT
"Wanton cruelty and degradation"

those functions belong more properly and effectively to the purviews of our other Standing Committees long antedating this one; and finally, that when the Committee is not being harmful or bumptious in its operations, it most commonly is just plain silly. Taking merely the last year of the Committee's operations, I propose to demonstrate these facts to you.

None of us can really escape responsibility for the Committee's work. We created it, we sponsor it, we vote the funds for its continued operations, we enforce its process, we publish its reports. It should be a source of real concern to see some of the incredible and appalling things we have allowed to be done in our name and under our auspices, with the use of our delegated powers and immunities. You will see that it is precisely those powers and immunities which have enabled the Committee to do its worst work.

NOT ONLY DOES IT assume that so-called un-American persons are incapable of decent thoughts, it also considers them unfit for gainful employment. Year after year the Committee has ferreted out new areas of our country which it considers vital and from which it wants to abolish such persons. This year it is the Protestant clergy. Last year, for example, one of these areas was the meat-packing industry.

Now are we really this afraid? Do we need to appoint a Committee to drive people out of their jobs? Does the country really benefit from the fact that John Doe came before the Committee and told it that Mary Jones' real name is Mary Jonovitch and she is or had been a Communist; that he has thereby cost her her job as a meat wrapper at the Weak-Hearted Meat Co., and put her and her children on relief, and that Mary Jones cannot henceforth find a job?

Let me say flatly that my answer is "no" and that it is to our eternal disgrace that we sponsor such misuse of our authority. And let me also ask, what is to become of Mary Jones and her children? Who will employ her unless it is someone else whom we have made a pariah? Do we really expect that after this sort of wanton cruelty and degradation she and her children will continue to think of this country as a land of freedom and tolerance for differences? Or haven't we more probably just recruited new persons for the ranks of bitterness and extremism?

We let the Committee do even worse things in California last year; it was one of the most shameful episodes in the history of this House.

THESE RECENT EXAMPLES of the Committee's misuse of the power which we have delegated to it could be multiplied, of course; but year in, year out, the Committee acts much the same way. Certainly as elected representatives of the nation we cannot go on blinking the nature of the Committee and its operations; by ignoring it we simply default to its viciousness.

Surely, too, I was wrong last year in pinning too many of my hopes on the then-pending Barenblatt case. However I may feel about the legal issues decided in the case, I do admit that we shouldn't depend on the Supreme Court to save us from our own bad inventions. The Committee on Un-American Activities is a national problem, to be sure. But it is, most clearly of all, a problem of this body, and it is well past the time when we should have faced squarely up to it.

The Commitee indicts itself by its very conduct, and the indictment is an unavoidably grave one. These, I submit, are the unanswerable counts against the Committee in ascending order of seriousness:

- First of all, it spends large amounts of needed time, energy and money in ponderously investigating and restating the obvious. It seems to have an inherent affinity for absurdities and truisms.
- Second, however, it combines with this a contrasting inability to understand the very real complexities of human behavior, or even to try to do so. Its world is one of black-and-white moral judgments on matters of immense intricacy and great shadings. Typically, last year it criticized the inclusion of certain paintings in our Moscow exposition because of the politics of the artists. The merit of the works was disregarded.
- Third, as this last example and the Air Force manual controversy both illustrate, the Committee has repeatedly shown its inability to stick to its own business. It seems to have an uncontrollable tendency to encroach upon the jurisdiction of our other Committees and of other governmental agencies, including the police, the Justice Department and the Courts.
- Fourth, the Committee has no real usefulness or justification. It is not the bulwark of this country nor any real agency in its defense against malevolent forces. The various police and counter-espionage agencies in reality do what the Committee merely claims to do in guarding this country against internal danger. It is partly for that reason and partly for political reasons that the Committee tends to stray over into other fields. But in point of fact, we never committed this police work to it.
- Fifth, despite the existence of the police and prosecuting agencies of the United States and their effectiveness, the Committee has undertaken to constitute itself as a roving police and prosecution agency to haul persons and groups before it, accuse them and force them either to answer under oath or claim their constitutional protection. Yet it acts with the aid of immunities and powers which we would not dream of granting our police and public prosecutors.
- Sixth, the Committee also acts as a Court, for it judges those who come before it. Yet, again it is not subject to the restraints of fairness and impartiality which we impose upon our judiciary.
- Seventh, the mandate which we did in fact give the Committee is itself defective and inherently contrary to our democratic traditions.

How did we come to establish a Committee to decide what was "un-American," forsooth; and still worse, how did we persuade ourselves that propaganda, speech was a fit subject for regulation by inquisitional techniques such as the Committee employs? To me, the very nature of that commission is at war with our profoundest principles, and it cannot help but be executed in a manner destructive of those principles. We have, in effect, created and empowered an agency to supervise the exercise of First Amendment rights, an organ for censorship and suppression.

FINALLY, THEN WE COME to what I think is the most serious criticism of the Committee—the fact that it has become an agency for the destruction of human dignity and constitutional rights. On this subject volumes have been written, especially concerning the Committee's contempt for the legal rights of its victims.

We have become accustomed to think of those whom it subpoenas or labels as victims rather than witnesses. Endlessly they are dragooned before the Committee and accused. Secret sources, arrogance, rudeness, defamation, and the threat of prosecution either for perjury or contempt if they do not seek the refuge of silence are the constant ingredients of this degrading spectacle.

Beyond this the Committee is sanctimoniously cruel. Those who would answer the charges against themselves are forced to accuse others and become the agents of further havoc.

It is, I think, a monstrous thing that we have created such an institution and lent it our powers and prestige. But we can also end this terrible agency and take back our powers. The Supreme Court has upheld the bare legality of what we have done in creating the Committee on Un-American Activities. However, that is not the sole test for this Congress. It did not say that we were under a duty to continue it. We have no mandate to abuse the rights and feelings of our citizens, nor are we obligated to profane ourselves in the eyes of the rest of the world. Nor should we be too proud to recognize that we have made a mistake and too long subsidized a wrong to the nation.

THE ISSUES, then, are very clear. I invite the Committee's defenders to speak to them and not to repeat last year's performance of answering reason with vilification. I recognize their disadvantage because, in fact, the essence of the Committee's work is itself name-calling. I am convinced that the level of last year's response was merely an accurate, if unpleasant, reflection of the Committee's activities, merely another symptom of the same cancer.

I urge the rest of my colleagues to give this matter serious thought and to speak of it when they return to their constituencies this summer. I think we need only break that spell of anxiety to find wide support for the abolition of this thoroughly bad institution.

Then those who return here next January can complete this imperative task which is the business of this House alone. We would then be acting in the service of our best tradition. Let us set our House aright.

'MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN AT ITS MOST BLOODY AND DASTARDLY'

A white woman's S. Africa diary tells the horrors of

The author of the diary from which the following is excerpted is a London woman, for many years professionally interested in African art and an African cultural relations group. She writes of her first visit to Africa this year. Her London and Paris contacts afforded unusual opportunities to make and renew friendships with Africans down the West Coast, and her admiration of the Africans as people deepened as she approached South Africa. With her pro-African friend Norma from London, she was the house-guest of Norma's brother, wealthy businessman David Green, and his wife Sarah, in their luxurious home outside Johannesburg. There she struggled to adjust to South Africa's "two worlds with a veil between" and, in deference to her hosts, to act the part of a superior white being which she didn't feel. She was appalled by the whites' arrogant boorishness. In the first ten days, her only African contact was Julius, Norma's old family "boy", "one of the wisest and gentlest of men," a Zulu who traveled miles from his pensioned retirement to be with his Kososan — little mistress — on her rare visits. All names except the author's are disguised.

HARMONICA KING LARRY ADLER WITH A JOHANNESBURG MUSICIAN
"The isolation of the whites is one of the most tragic features"

By Dorothy Brooks

DEC. 28. Johannesburg from the air: A landscape studded with aquamarine jewels, which later prove to be swimming pools in rich suburban gardens, centers of much of the Golden City's social life. Candy-floss clouds piled spirally, mine dumps like pale puddings, set the Kafka-like note which pervades the city.

The decadent, materialistic white society milling round in over-dressed bored sequence from bridge, canasta, golf, the races, interspersed with morning coffee, lunch, afternoon tea, cocktail dates and dinner parties seems hysterically bent on increasing the tempo of escape from reality.

One wonders if the thought of the Armageddon in store lends a desperation to the empty prattle, to each sterile activity, giving rise to the dichotomy of doom-awareness and a recoiling from preventive action. What lies behind the rows of tight-lipped, tense dead masks of the immaculately manicured white women who fill the shoppers' buses, or who stream in Cadillacs past the 50-yards-long bus queue of African workers?

She even thinks that up in heaven
Her class lies late and snores,
While poor black cherubs rise at seven
To do celestial chores.

Certainly one senses no anguish, no gnawing doubts as to the ethical rightness of the European monopoly of privilege, the police brutality, discrimination at every level, the daily humiliation and serfdom of those on the other side of the color line; simply an unquestioning acceptance of white supremacy as God-given. Only the blind fear that at some future date the day of reckoning will come mars this earthly paradise. "What can we do?" asks the little, well-meaning, red-faced chemist, sipping his fourth whisky on the terrace, and returns to discussion of his golf. The idea that a less repressive policy could avert the holocaust is alien except to the handful of Liberals who try to preserve the remnant of good-will. The conditioning of apartheid has fashioned a tortoise shell which little penetrates. The ensuing isolation of the whites is one of the most tragic features of the impasse.

JAN. 3. The horizontal stratification of the structure of society results in utter ignorance of the ways of the Negro, the way he thinks, feels and lives, for interracial communication is made increasingly difficult. An unreasoned and disproportionate fear of the man as a man, and fear of reprisal collectively, results. The paradox is that the average white South African entrusts his life each night to the African watchman who guards his house.

I am bewildered that they are so unaware of their putrescence. The reflex reply to any criticism, however mild, is that the visitor does not understand the situation, that he underestimates the enormous good that has been done, for example, in urbanization. "Look at Meadowlands, at Dube, the native has never had it so good." Useless to point out that the "native" now has to travel 20 miles to work with increased fares; that he has no security of tenure in his beautiful new house, and can be evicted at 72 hours' notice, that the much higher rents cause hardship; that the new ethnic grouping leads to further fragmentation and potential trouble.

One is accused of "falling over backwards," of non-objectivity, of being a black racialist. Similarly any attempt to relate outbreaks of African violence to the context of savage laws is dismissed. Tension breeds violence, and one can detect much sadism in everyday life, often quite unconscious—like my woman neighbor in a private film-showing of Game Reserves, who asked insistently "Do let's see a kill, we must see a kill," and who was only partly sated after a ten minute's bloody evisceration of a zebra.

JAN. 7. I am less and less of a social success. It makes no difference if I sit and keep silent to avoid offending someone or everyone, for my very silence is construed as disapproval. When asked how I'm enjoying my stay, I reply, "Much better now, thank you," or "The country is beautiful." I may possibly return to England with a new dimension and with my understanding widened and deepened, for one cannot go through all this vicarious suffering without undergoing a change.

When I say "much better," it means that I have come to terms sufficiently not to have tears of rage and frustration in my throat all the time. I have reached an almost ice-cold clarity. I can sit through conversations with such phrases as "They're all savages, of course" recurring with monotonous regularity. I mentally juxtapose the image of Africans whom I know, men with trained minds, with a culture and humanity sadly lacking here in this "civilized" posturing.

Not that I'm no longer shocked, but it is rather like Canute forbidding the tide to come in. It doesn't need me to invite the waves to continue to advance. Perhaps this is why, even though I remain silent, Norma says I give people the impression that I am gloating. It isn't that, but I can pity the perpetrators of this man-made situation for being so insensitive, so blind and evil as to have brought this impasse on themselves.

The relationship between master and servant is often sentimentalized to a nauseating degree—"We would do anything for our 'boys,' we treat them like our own children." Precisely—and the servant exploits the father-child relationship to the full, but let him challenge on equal terms and he becomes a "cheeky kaffir." The domestic servant usually identifies himself with the materialistic values of the master, so that when confronted by someone like myself, who does not practice apartheid attitudes, he is confused and sometimes scornful.

We are neither fish, flesh nor fowl. The inquiring visitor is prevented as far as possible from being left alone with the servants, thus 'corrupting' them. I have had many pretexts raised—fear of rape, drunkenness, violence, even witchcraft! On one occasion, alone with Julius, I asked him why the domestics seemed so apathetic to their lot. He replied: "What can we do, we were born in the saucepan and we can't get out. But the young people are beginning to talk differently. I tell them not to hate the white man but only his bad laws, but they're losing patience."

JAN. 14. The topic invariably gravitates at parties to "Them" and "When." Nationalists usually put the No Change at ten to 15 years, Liberals—with "Time is running out, it's already too late"—at five to ten; but I think they will be very fortunate if they last out two or three years.

I wish I could adequately reconstruct the scene of Mitzi's mansion-like house in colonial style, spacious, enveloped in cathedral quiet inside and in the park-style grounds. Mitzi, balding, chameleon-featured, sipping her gin in a housecoat, quite out of touch with what is going on in the African mind, letting fall platitude after platitude, with her dry vitriolic air of uttering authoritative moments of truth.

She is being plagued by lots of kittens, and thought of putting cyanide down. Someone suggested a better solution: as the kittens were white, she had only to find the biggest black tomcat in the neighborhood, then call up the police and have them all put in jail. While these conversations are in progress, the servants move silently on the quiet lawns or round the silver-laden tables, handing round smoked oysters and asparagus tips, clad in white uniforms, white-gloved, with golden-tasseled scarlet bandoliers, their faces impassive, with only the alert eyes revealing that all is being observed and registered. "The native" is discussed in front of the African servants, as though they were invisible and de-humanized.

Norma said this evening that I hadn't 'clicked' as her friend Gerda did when she was a guest at the Greens', because I didn't seem grateful for all the hospital-

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE BREAK UP A PROTEST OF WOMEN IN PRETORIA
"I condemn the whole system as un-Christian, unethical and a slave state"

# of apartheid

ity, the swimming pools and all the de luxe living. Whereas Gerda went about praising everything, I make quite clear that I condemn the whole system as un-Christian, unethical and a slave state.

JAN. 18. When I returned today from a Liberal Party seminar, Norma said: "While you have been theorizing, we have been doing something practical. David has helped to solve the domestic problem of Julius' son, so another candle is lit." I replied that it was good of David to do what he could, and I didn't underestimate his generosity, but the fact remained that it didn't change the system which produced these evils.

JAN. 20.

I speak the password primeval, I give
the sign of democracy,
By God! I will accept nothing which
all cannot have their counterpart
of on the same terms.

I have **The Poetry of Freedom** by my bedside. It all seems such a mockery. Yesterday the balloon went up. I met Lucian [an African writer] with three friends, and for an hour in his office we discussed coordination with the London cultural group. The talk of culture and music brought a heavy vein of bitterness from one man who said: "Forgive me if I am not over-enthusiastic, but here we are trying to create an African **existence.** We don't even exist yet." We decided to continue the discussion after office hours. I was happy and relaxed for

Vicky, New Statesman, London

"We intend to do what is just and right as a Christian Nation . . . "

—Dr. Verwoerd, March 26, 1960

the first time in Johannesburg, we laughed and joked and I felt accepted.

I rang Norma to say I was safe, and would be staying in town. I had a broadside from her, so stunning that I still haven't recovered. Lucian had rung the house to say that return transport had been arranged for me, and Sarah had taken the call. "I'm not having natives ringing the house and asking for Dorothy," she said. I listened to ten minutes of reproach for what I had done to the family.

Everyone immediately thought the worst, that I was spending the night out with a "native" who called me Dorothy, which was unheard-of anyway. The Security Police, the Immorality Act, jail and the withdrawal of the family's Import license, all were invoked. Norma reminded me of her promise that there would be no mixing of races in the house.

By this time it looked as though I had planned to entertain the whole of dark Johannesburg in a mass orgy at the house. In vain to protest that I was continuing a professional appointment, and incidentally intended to draw L., having bought paper and crayon for that purpose. He has a delicate sculptured head, finely boned like a bird's skull, and concave like a Baoulé mask with intelligent glowing eyes. Norma replied that if I wanted to make contacts for my organization, I must come to South Africa under its aegis, and that if I insisted on seeing L. again, I could no longer consider myself a guest of their family.

JOHANNESBURG STREET ENTERTAINERS—A SCENE FROM THE MOVIE, 'COME BACK, AFRICA'

"The miracle is how they keep so smiling—they are the ones with the happy faces"

The extraordinary thing about all this hysteria and panic is that it isn't **illegal** to have Africans in your house. People in their conditioning of fear in a police state anticipate the law. Most lose their courage.

I left a note of apology for L. Back through the almost deserted town—at 5 o'clock—with Africans standing about or playing crap by the empty **SLEGS BLANKES** (Europeans Only) seats, feeling hatred in my heart for the first time. My dreams of Hell in future will be set in South Africa, man's inhumanity to man at its most bloody and dastardly.

JAN. 21. The crisis calmed down. Norma said she had a sleepless night with her conscience, that I was perfectly right of course, but the family had to live here, and the one unforgivable thing in their eyes was social intercourse. She had been through all this before with her own position, and decided one could not play with fire. Either one walked through it and was purified in the process—and this would mean renouncing her income, about 90% of which goes in helping others—or one stayed away altogether. Here no middle way was possible.

So, meeting with L. on a social basis seems to be out of the question. Julius was philosophical this morning, and said that I shouldn't upset myself over these things, that I can talk outside the country, but not here. African voices and laughter weave a background and relieve the otherwise arid tight-lipped tension. On evenings when the master and madam go out, the kitchen comes to life, and one hears the singing and rich laughter bursting out in a comforting way. The miracle is how they manage to keep so smiling, for it's the same everywhere—they are the ones with the happy faces.

JAN. 25. Peace and quiet for the first time—David and Sarah went to one of their country houses. In the middle of a tea-party for Norma's friends, Julius' Auntie and other relations arrived including two small children. So we had one tea-party on the front lawn and one on the back. We took it in turns to entertain "Auntie," and during my turn I decided to show them the house and garden.

As we rounded the house, Norma called me, and I thought I was for the high jump. But she said, "Invite them to sit with us." So for the first time in this snob suburb we mixed. It was probably for the first time, too, that the little English-speaking boy of six had experienced anything like this, for he said: "Look at this native boy." Auntie's nephew apologized as he left: "You must forgive us if we were embarrassed—you see, we never have the opportunity of speaking to white people like this."

JAN. 27. At breakfast, David said the only solution was to allow white immigration to balance the numbers. I said it was time to stop thinking in terms of color as the criterion, and to start considering just what sort of human beings individuals were, and how they contributed to the welfare of the state. David replied: "It's no use talking to you people. You always bring it back to color."

FEB. 2. I **did** see L. again, and was able to make some drawings. He took me to a shebeen [illicit African bar] where firebrands were talking of "blood and more blood," and expressing disgust at the non-violent policy of the African National Congress, saying that the people had outstripped the leadership. I said I thought the danger was that violence would play into the government's hands and provide the pretext they were waiting for to bring out the guns for **"the biggest baboon hunt in all history,** when there will be 2,000,000 of them less" as one Afrikaaner put it.

Someone cited Mau Mau, and all agreed that it was as a result of violence that reform had been introduced in Kenya. Some never spoke, only listened. I reflected what frail vessels they looked to confront Sten guns and Saracens.

L. said it was risky going to a shebeen, for if there was a raid someone had to own up to having brought the liquor. Suddenly someone shouted "Cops!"

The bottle and glasses were hidden and breathing practically suspended. I continued my sentence, I hoped without batting an eyelid. It was a false alarm, but I seemed to have passed my initiation test. Liberals are spoken of with some scorn as being unlikely to share real risks such as running from the cops, but they are nevertheless the only responsible group who manage friendships across the color line. (Tsotsis or ducktail delinquents also mix and dance Kwela together, and court cases reveal that many Afrikaaners have illicit relations with black women.)

FEB. 8. A four-page note from Norma reminds me what a mistake my coming here had been, considering my attitude. I feel rejected by most of the white world here, and at the most difficult point in time to be accepted by the other. Yet it is the only thing I can be. When I take stock and realize just what it would have meant to be accepted and liked by the Greens, I know it is better this way.

I have emerged with my confidence in my social success shattered, but to have been accepted as I was by L. and his friends in so short an acquaintance is to me far more worth while than impressing the Green family, in common with whom I have nothing but the color of my skin. I know without a vestige of doubt where I want to stand and in what direction I want to travel. I also know that in denying human dignity to another you deny it to yourself.

A child's garden of -- bullets

A boy of nine told me that he and his brother of ten had come out of his father's shop when the firing began. Bullets sprayed the wall. His brother fell dead. "I was lucky," he said, and smiled.

—Interview at Baragwanath Hospital, South Africa, in the London **News Chronicle**, March 26, 1960

A ten-year-old goes back to African earth—
A child, made alien in his land of birth,
Returns so soon. White bullets set him free.
"I was in luck. They only wounded me."
His brother will remember. So will we.

The bullets bit a pattern in the sand
Which spelt the end—no tyranny can stand
Against such grief and anger and massed will.

And we in Britain, white and partly free,
With your white killers must we share the blame?
Only if we are bound, our voices still.
Africans, brothers—
Here are our hearts, our honor, in your hands,
Till with your freedom you erase this shame
And ratify the comradeship we claim.

— Charles Ashleigh

Charles Ashleigh, a resident of Brighton, Sussex, England, once lived and wrote poetry in the United States—some of it in Leavenworth Penitentiary, where he served time as a member of the Industrial Workers of the World. He writes: "To any old comrades of mine who, like me, energetically survive—my greetings!"

AFL-CIO conference

(Continued from Page 1)

consequently the labor movement's, is shaped by Jay Lovestone, a former Communist Party leader who has dedicated his years of disillusionment to undermining the Soviet government. Lovestone's crusade has brought him into association with the Central Intelligence Agency. Although he carries the innocuous title of Director of Publications of the AFL-CIO Intl. Affairs Dept., Lovestone is a key influence in deciding policy.

Each delegate was supplied with a packet of publications from the Intl. Affairs Dept., including a copy of **Free Trade Union News**, a pamphlet, "The Greater Danger—the Post-Stalin Pattern for Communist World Conquest," an issue of the **American Federationist** and a copy of Meany's speech to the 1959 convention and the resolutions it adopted.

SPECIAL VIEW: The publications reflected Lovestone's special view of history that the "Stalin-Hitler Pact . . . enabled the German dictator to launch World War II" and "in large measure, Franco owes his victory to Stalin's actions in Spain." The Soviet campaign for world trade was seen as stemming from Moscow's "acute need of outside economic help to overcome its backwardness in automation and other serious lags and weaknesses in its economy."

George M. Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and a close friend of Harry Truman was chairman of the conference. He warmed up the audience for Meany: "Too few Americans are sufficiently aware of the seriousness of the Communist threat to human freedom, to our national security and to world peace. . . . Our job at this conference is to help our country replace apathy with alertness and action, complacency with a sense of urgency, and confusion with clarification, understanding and a sense of purpose and direction."

Meany added a list of American goals to his theme that only through Western strength "will the danger of aggression and war be reduced."

MEANY'S GRAB-BAG: In addition to a call for military strength and a revitalized NATO, it called for (1) a program to promote peaceful uses of atomic energy; (2) an end to colonialism and racial discrimination; (3) reduction of armament, "provided effective international inspection is guaranteed;" (4) strengthening the UN; (5) "free elections" as the "only just and practical method for the re-unification of Germany;" (6) closer ties with Latin America and (7) stepped-up economic growth to "meet the needs of the defense program and our increasing population."

The program had something for all political complexions and seemed designed as a sop to the liberals. It made it possible for Amalgamated Clothing Workers president Jacob Potofsky, a liberal, to be the first to pump Meany's hand after his speech. But no one asked how "reduction of armament" could be squared with the thesis that only Western superiority will force "the Soviet regime to accept an enforceable disarmament program."

THE EXPERTS: The bulk of the conference was devoted to speeches by outside authorities. Prof. Frank Tannenbaum of Columbia University said that too often in Latin America the U.S. is associated with the status quo. "Our problem," he concluded, "is to find a way for the Latin American people to identify us with their aspirations for a better life."

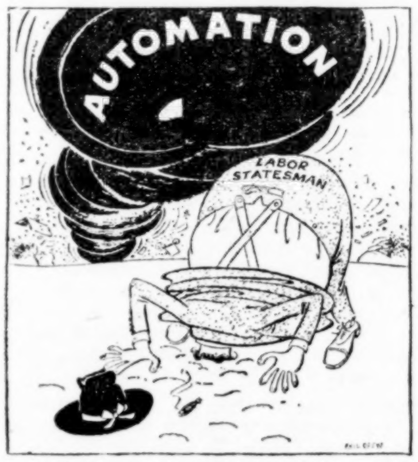
Prof. David N. Rowe of Yale University, speaking on "The Far East and the World of Tomorrow," said: "The chief threat in the Far East today and in the foreseeable future is the world Communist revolution with its universalist dogmas backed up by military aggression and political subversion."

Dr. Ernest C. Grigg, chief of the UN Community Development Group, called for an understanding of the "great social change" going on in Africa and the Near East. Telling these people what we are against "is sterile and useless," he said. "We must declare ourselves for the things we stand for and then prepare to implement those standards without regard to whether the methods adopted conform to our notions of how things should be done."

THE GENERAL: The most applauded speaker was Maj. Gen. John B. Medaris, recently retired chief of the Army's missile program, who laid out his own program for national defense. The administration's policy, he said, "is dedicated to the philosophy of overkill." Our stockpile of atomic weapons, he added, represents the "equivalent of ten tons of TNT for every man, woman and child on earth. We seem to be preparing not for retaliation but for obliteration."

Medaris called for development of missile defense. He scoffed at mass evacuation and shelter plans. The Nike-Zeus anti-missile missile, he said, should be the cornerstone of our defense system.

"At the same time," he added, "our geographic situation cries out for a self-contained, globally-mobile, lightweight force which could deal promptly with any localized threat to our security or that of our allies. The nation should assign the highest priority to the provision of a sufficient airlift to move, in one single lift, a highly trained force, fully equipped with its own weapons support, that could stand alone until more power could be brought to bear."



Phil Drew, The Dispatcher San Francisco
Flesh, blood and machines

THE HARD LINE: "Limited war" exponent Henry A. Kissinger of Harvard University complained that our position in Berlin had deteriorated in the last 18 months. He called for a rejection of all Soviet proposals for the confederation of Germany. Although Adenauer at times seems obdurate, Kissinger argued that unless we bind West Germany to the "free world," the next Chancellor "might be worse."

William C. Foster, former Deputy Secy. of Defense, and Douglas Dillon, Under Secy. of State, laid down a hard line for U.S. foreign policy. Dillon's speech was significant because as an official view it indicated that Washington does not expect much from the Summit.

Dillon said: "Despite constant talk of 'peaceful coexistence,' there is no evidence that Communist expansion ambitions have altered in the slightest." He pledged that the West would not allow "the courageous people of West Berlin to be sold into slavery" at the Summit.

(Soviet First Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan in Moscow on April 23, called Dillon's remarks a "cold war speech.")

Before Kissinger's speech, Harrison read a telegram of congratulations from Adenauer. It was the only message acknowledged at the conference.

THE DISCUSSION: After each speech 30 minutes were allotted to discussion. James B. Carey, president of the Intl. Union of Electrical Workers, twice took the floor to soften the hard line. But straining to appear in accord with Meany and speaking without text, Carey had difficulty making himself understood. At the press table, the consensus was that he was trying to say that we ought to divert some spending for a "Marshall Plan" for Asia and Africa.

IUE secy.-treasurer Al Hartnett made himself clearer. He said that we should recognize that Communist governments are here to stay and "cultural and other exchanges" between "ordinary" people could lead to a relaxation of tensions.

Meany angrily replied that Russian union leaders are really representatives of their government. "If they want to come here," he said, "let them talk to representatives of our government. They are not going to talk to me."

Eyes turned to Maritime Union president Joseph Curran who had announced he was going to the Soviet Union in July on the invitation of Russian maritime unions. But Curran remained silent after Meany whispered to him that his trip would come up for discussion at an executive council meeting May 3. Curran seemed undisturbed. Later he told some reporters that another top AFL-CIO leader might also take the trip, but he would not name him.

RIFTS? This apparent disunity in top labor ranks seems to be part of the game where individual leaders and unions move on their own course provided Meany gets his resolutions passed. Recently there have been several affronts to official policy. Auto Workers secy.-treasurer Emil Mazey at a Quaker-sponsored meeting in Chicago made a strong plea for world understanding, including a change in U.S. policy toward China.

The Woodworkers convention in Seattle called for exchange visits with Soviet unionists.

A "What Can We Do" conference of the San Francisco Labor Council heard a Building Service Employes official call for an end to nuclear tests and stockpiles. He urged "detailed planning for conversion from military to civilian production."

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers is encouraging disarmament discussions in its locals preparatory to the adoption of a strong peace resolution at its convention later this month.

MEANY AND THE DAR: Those who looked to Auto Workers president Walter Reuther to lead a revolt got a remarkable lesson in dexterity. Reuther somehow worked out a position which does not bring him into conflict with Meany and still allows him to speak at a rally of the Sane Nuclear Policy Committee in New York's Madison Square Garden May 19.

In a speech at a dinner ending the conference, Reuther found no conflict in advocating both continued military strength and disarmament. He recognized that China must be included in any disarmament agreement. He also raised a key question which no one answered: "If we can have full employment and full production in an arms economy, why can't we have full employment and full production in a peace economy?"

All the speeches at the conference, not including the remarks from the floor, will be published as a special supplement to the New York **Times** on May 8.

The New York **Post** summed up the conference: "There have long been indications that the Russians are as anxious as we are about the prospects for staying alive. Meany's stubborn refusal to get the point leaves him in a corner of history's stage where he can do little more than make faces at the future."

In Meany's corner was the DAR. At a convention on April 19, it asked Congress to investigate the international cultural exchange program. It is a strange scene that makes bedfellows of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the sons of the working class.

Guardian meeting May 12 on new rise of Nazism

JAMES ARONSON, editor of the National GUARDIAN, and Russ Nixon, national legislative representative of the United Electrical Workers Union and GUARDIAN Washington correspondent, will speak at a meeting Thursday, May 12, on The New Rise of German Nazism. The meeting, sponsored by the GUARDIAN, will be held at New York Center, 227 W. 46th St. and will begin at 8 p.m.

Both speakers were active in the U.S. occupation forces in Germany at the end of World War II. A special feature will be a documentary film on the resurgence of Hitler's General Hans Speidel and others who have returned to power in the course of West German recovery. The film, based on captured Nazi archives, traces the career of Speidel from his shadowy beginnings in the German intelligence service in the Thirties to his present prominence as head of NATO land forces.

The GUARDIAN has called the public meeting, Aronson said, to show what is behind the recent upsurge of anti-Semitic activities in West Germany and to demonstrate the danger of a revived German military machine to America and to the world.

Admission to the meeting is $1.50. For tickets and information, call OR 3-3800.

THIRD ACCEPTANCE

The Supreme Court agrees to review Braden conviction

THE SUPREME COURT on April 25 agreed to review the contempt conviction of Carl Braden of Louisville, Ky., field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Braden was sentenced to a year in prison for refusing to answer questions before the House Un-American Activities Committee in Atlanta in July, 1958. His conviction was upheld last November by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The Braden case is the third related case which the Supreme Court has agreed to review. A month ago it accepted the case of Frank Wilkinson, secretary of the Los Angeles Committee to Preserve American Freedoms. Wilkinson had been cited for contempt at the same Atlanta hearing as Braden and also sentenced to a year. Earlier, the Court had agreed to review the conviction of Arthur McPhaul, a former director of the now defunct Civil Rights Congress in Detroit. McPhaul had refused to turn over to the Committee lists of members of the CRC.

All three persons thus have been active in the fight for civil rights and civil liberties, and the issue of whether a person may engage in such activities without interference by a committee of Congress seems joined. As Braden said in a statement to the GUARDIAN April 25:

"I believe the Supreme Court will uphold the right of a citizen to work for integration without being constantly harassed by the segregationists who control the House Committee on Un-American Activities or the Senate Internal Security subcommittee."

EXCHANGE VISIT ARRANGED

N. Y. May Day rally to hear Cuban leader

THE CUBAN Confederation of Labor (CTC) will send an official delegate to New York's May Day demonstration on May 2 from 4 to 6 p.m. in Union Square, it was announced this week. Rogelio Iglesias "Pao" Patino, CTC vice-secy., said the CTC has extended a return invitation for a delegate from the New York May Day Committee.

At a conference April 2, 150 members of trade unions and other organizations set up the 1960 May Day Committee and made plans for the celebration. Themes of the day's program will include demands for peaceful cooperation and an end to armaments, civil rights and support for the current struggles in the South, the demand for $1.50 hourly minimum wage, and an end to discrimination against the Puerto Rican people.

Twenty open-air sound-truck rallies in all parts of the city will be held to publicize the celebration, and 75,000 leaflets will be distributed.

Further information can be had from the 1960 Labor and People's Committee for May Day, 130 E. 16th St., GR 5-5790.

BOOKS

A close look at Nixon

AMONG THE NUMEROUS Washington correspondents who have written either a profile or a book-length biography of Vice President Richard M. Nixon, the most recent, an "unauthorized" one by White House correspondent William Costello,* would seem to be entitled to public confidence on at least two counts: it manifestly is honestly and skillfully written, and it takes the reader on a dramatically-told passage through the troubled currents of one of the most momentous periods of our history.

More than this, it explains in the Vice President's own opportunistic record of 15 years in politics why his name has come to symbolize the malignant phases of our American political system, why the widely publicized "new Nixon" face is a falseface, and why the turbulence, hatred and unease which characterizes the America of today would in all likelihood not have been our chief problem to resolve had not Richard Nixon appeared on our political scene. Nixon, concludes reporter Costello, "is a symbol of conflict."

It is more than mere coincidence that of all the writers who have written from Nixon's actual record and, as reporter Costello says, have avoided the temptation to "suppress and invent," none has escaped the conclusion that Nixon is unfit for the enormous responsibilities which are associated with the Presidency of the United States. As William V. Shannon, Washington correspondent of the New York **Post**, put it in his recent profile on Nixon (**The Progressive**, March, 1960):

"The Presidency is a place of moral leadership. A President should be an educator and a spokesman of a people whose destiny is greatness . . . Nixon falls so far short he is demonstrably unfit."

Herblock, Washington Post
"You obviously recognize our superior facilities for putting things into orbit."

NIXON'S PROFICIENCY in the use of innuendo, defamation and double-talk, and the dexterity with which he emerged from his secret fund involvements, Costello attributes to the teaching of his one-time campaign manager and political mentor, Murray Chotiner, the Los Angeles attorney who was a figure in the GOP inner council until he was called before a House Committee and rebuked for soliciting privilege at the Justice Department for clients convicted of defrauding the government. Nixon, a particularly adept Chotiner pupil, used the anti-communist smear tactic with deadly effect in his successful campaign in 1946 against Rep. Jerry Voorhis in California's 12th District, later in the Alger Hiss case, and again in 1950 in defeating Helen Gahagan Douglas for the U.S. Senate.

Costello shows how this smear technique was used in the Voorhis campaign:

"An insidious telephone campaign was carried on by Nixon supporters, but whether with the candidate's knowledge has never been clear. 'This is a friend of yours,' an anonymous caller would say. 'I want you to know that Voorhis is a Communist.' Then the phone would click dead. One biographer has called this whispering campaign 'an invention of typewriter pundits.' Such denials are unconvincing, for the story has been amply corroborated."

COSTELLO TRACES Nixon's phenomenal rise from the obscurity of a minor Federal job in Washington to within 'a heartbeat' of the Presidency by these factors: The Communist smear technique, which got him into the House in 1946 and into the Senate in 1950 in step with the rise of McCarthyism; his presence on the Washington scene opportunely with the illness and incapacitation of a weak and politically inept President who found such men as Sherman Adams and Nixon indispensable; his availability and vigor as the Republican Old Guard's chief hatchet man; his ruthless use of the word "treason" in castigating his Democratic opponents (notably ex-President Truman, General George C. Marshall, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson); his all-things-to-all-men voting record in both the House and Senate; and his secret agreement with the China Lobby, following his acceptance of a $25,000 gift to finance his senatorial contest against Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas.

The payoff for this, as reporter Costello shows, came when he visited Formosa in 1953 to placate Chiang Kai-shek's fears that the Eisenhower administration intended to recognize Red China and assured the Generalissimo that the United States would back him to the hilt in the event he invaded China's mainland.

"When Secretary Dulles at a Washington news conference hinted at a two-China policy," Costello recalls, "an angry Nixon issued a special statement rejecting Dulles' thesis . . . After that it was five years before Secretary Dulles was able to renounce the reinvasion thesis and suggest a new lease of life for the two-China policy."

Costello points out that this brash Nixon assumption of policy-making power was only one of several to embarrass the State Department during his Far East tour.

NIXON'S HERALDED "peace mission" to Latin-America also was a distinct disservice to the United States, Costello feels, despite cursory efforts to turn what Lippmann called a "diplomatic Pearl Harbor" into a propaganda victory.

Nixon's power both within his party and with the people has been on the wane since 1954, Costello points out, despite the return of the Eisenhower-Nixon administration to the White House in 1956. He bases this conclusion on the state elections of 1954, 1956 and 1958, when Nixon's leadership failed to elect Republican majorities to the Senate and House, and thus gave the Democrats control of Congress. This GOP disaster came, as the record shows, notwithstanding Nixon's frantic campaigning for a straight Republican ticket in 31 states.

"So reckless were his [Nixon's] tactics," Costello reminds us, "that by 1959 the Republican National Committee admitted in effect that the party's position has reverted to what it was eight years before. The 1960 nomination, they told Edward T. Folliard of the Washington **Post**, would be 'worth very little unless the nominee is stronger than the party'."

Such inner-party doubt about the invincibility of Richard Nixon may itself bring down the final curtain on his political ambition. —**Guy W. Finney**

**THE FACTS ABOUT NIXON: An Unauthorized Biography by William Costello. Viking Press, 625 Madison Ave., New York City. 320 pp. $3.95.*

Guy W. Finney, a veteran reporter, is the author of **The Two Faces of Richard Nixon** (Era Books, Box 112, Toluca Sta., No. Hollywood, Calif. 50c).

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Korea explosion

(Continued from Page 1)

cluded "acts of violence and irregularities which marked the recent elections in Korea."

THE BACKGROUND: The April 19 demonstrations were the climax of a series begun after the March 15 elections—although such protests, invariably crushed by police brutality, have been endemic since the U.S. saddled the Koreans with Rhee. In previous elections Rhee had ridden roughshod over all opposition; but police brutality and vote rigging to elect him and members of his Liberal Party last March outdid everything that had gone on before.

Before the elections, uniformed police and plainclothes men with leather jackets went around beating up, torturing and killing known anti-Rhee voters and Rhee's opponents. Dry runs were held with 60,000,000 fake ballots. The repression was especially severe in the port cities of Yosu and Masan. In 1956, Masan voted for Progressive Party presidential candidate Cho Bong Am two to one over Rhee; Cho was later hanged for "treason." In Kwangju a young Catholic leader was stabbed by the local chief of Rhee's "Anti-Communist Youth League."

KIM JOO YUL, 16: In Masan, Rhee's thugs smashed a peaceful demonstration March 15 and dumped into the sea the bodies of at least ten victims (London **Times**, April 13). A fisherman discovered in Masan harbor the mangled body of Kim Joo Yul, a 16-year-old honor student. The news spread through the city like wildfire; young girls brought flowers to the morgue and turned it into a shrine. Masan citizens fought the police when authorities refused to hand over the body.

Days and nights of demonstrations and brutality followed. In the National Assembly Rhee's opponents attacked him bitterly, asked him to "retire gracefully." Taken aback, he sent instructions to the Masan police not to fire on demonstrators, especially schoolchildren, "except when absolutely necessary" (**Time**, April 25). Police found it "necessary": at least one 17-year-old boy was shot dead.

THE EISENHOWER VISIT: At the height of the terror, Washington announced that President Eisenhower would visit Rhee on June 22, on his way back from the Soviet Union. Eisenhower had already remarked at a press conference that, while he had heard of "some violence" during the South Korean elections, he had no information indicating "violation of democratic processes in the election itself."

Rhee supporters were delighted by the news of the visit; they used it in an effort to drown the clamor against Rhee.

The announcement, however, failed to halt the momentum of the popular uprising. Even after Rhee declared he would resign "if the people desired," on April 26 thousands of students again marched in protest in Seoul, defied police bayonets and bullets, set fire to a police station, commandeered jeeps and trucks and toured the city demanding Rhee's resignation. They besieged the residence of Vice President-elect Lee Ki Poong, waving banners inscribed in blood with slogans demanding a "new concept of democracy."

DEEP ARE THE ROOTS: The roots of popular discontent in South Korea go deeper than the elections. The U.S. has poured $4 billion into South Korea. In fiscal 1959, the U.S. spent $215,800,000, plus $175,000,000 for military support; yet the people remain appallingly poor.

South Korea has received more U.S. aid than any other country in the world, but most of this has enriched the Rhee graft machine. Black-marketing is widespread, involving both civilians and military personnel, South Koreans and Americans. Last year Sen. Theodore F. Green (D-R.I.) inserted in the **Congressional Record** a letter from Stephen Bradner, a former agent of the U.S. Army Counter Intelligence Corps, now a professor at Taegu University. The letter said:

"If things continue as at present we may be caught in a very dangerous and embarrassing situation. Over the past few years popular disaffection with the government has steadily increased . . . The government officials are robbing the people and the people know this. One type of robbery involves the misuse of U.S. aid. The other type involves extortion from the Koreans themselves . . . Morale in the [South Korean] Army is very low [because] men are treated very badly and rations are often sold instead of being issued to the men . . . The condition of the agrarian population is poor . . ."

NORTH KOREAN EXAMPLE: South Korean discontent with the Rhee government has been sharpened by knowledge of the remarkable progress in socialist North Korea: vast low-rent housing projects with central heating; a modern industrial base built from scratch; irrigation projects involving three times the amount of land drained and irrigated during 50 years under Japan; free education and health care; and cultural development keeping pace with economic improvement.

North Korean progress has already lured thousands of Koreans living in Japan; it is a strong attraction for South Korean youth, who in increasing numbers have been demanding unity. (Bradner said his "brightest" students asked: "Why can't the Russian proposals for unification be accepted?")

THE U.S. APPROACH: In these circumstances, it seemed hardly enough to call for a new election for the South Korean Vice Presidency—as Washington had done—or to urge Rhee to curb the police. With $5,340,000 U.S. aid in the last five years, the police have become omnipotent and developed a vested interest in the Rhee-type of government — to the degree that in 1958 they could enter the Assembly Hall and haul out opposition members so that Rhee supporters could pass more repressive laws.

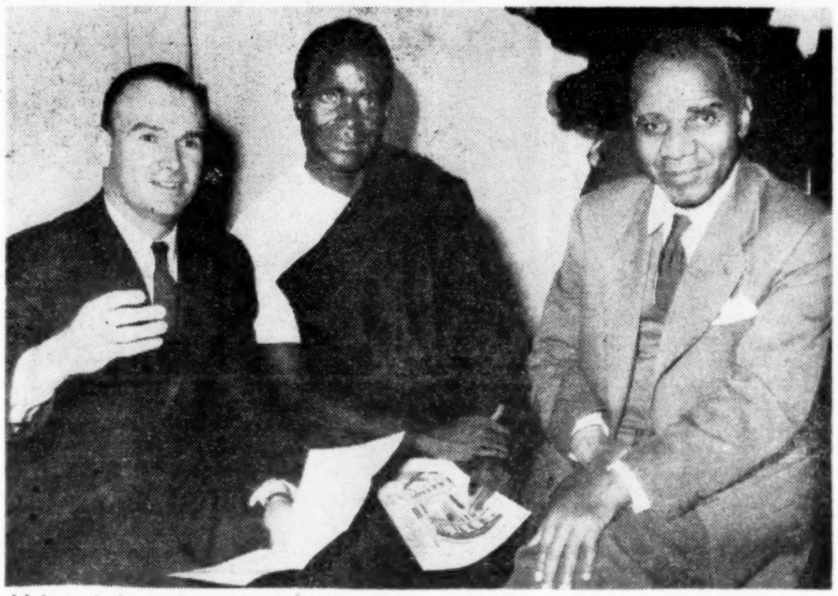
Nor was it enough for Rhee to resign from the ruling Liberal Party to become a non-party head of state, for his handpicked Cabinet to resign. The South Korean government underwent constitutional changes before without looseneng Rhee's iron grip. The opposition Democrats' demand for Rhee to step down and for new elections for all offices, and the continuing student outpourings demonstrated a lack of trust in Rhee's intentions.

WHAT IS NEEDED: South Korea needs a complete overhaul of its governmental, military, police and economic structures. These were built to promote the Rhee dictatorship and U.S. cold war policies, and inevitably attracted those who stood to profit from East-West conflict; their elimination is a precondition for removing the "basic causes and grievances behind the disorders" and improving the condition of the South Korean people.

The time is long overdue to overhaul the entire U.S. approach to Korea, bring home the 55,000 U.S. troops stationed there (whose morale is low and whose abrasive presence is generating anti-American feeling in addition to anti-Rhee sentiment), and agree to Korean unity on the basis of the equality of the two parts of Korea.

If the present situation continued—even with modification—the "big danger," an old Korean told correspondent Keyes Beach (**Washington Post**, March 11), would be that "the masses of the people who hate Rhee will turn against America."

Celebrating Africa Freedom Day



African independence leaders Dr. Hastings K. Banda of Nyasaland (right) and Kenneth Kaunda of Northern Rhodesia (center) appeared with George Hauser, director of American Committee on Africa at Town Hall on April 13 to celebrate second annual observance of Africa Freedom Day. Kaunda and Banda were recently released from jail. The meeting launched the ACA drive to raise $200,000 to aid apartheid victims in South Africa, urged boycott of South African goods by American people and government.

NEW YORK

THE NEW RISE OF GERMAN NAZISM
A Public Meeting Sponsored by the National GUARDIAN
JAMES ARONSON, Editor
RUSS NIXON, Washington Correspondent
and
A remarkable German-made film on the rise of General Speidel, Commander, NATO Ground Forces, and the men who helped Adolf Hitler.
Thursday, May 12 8 p.m. Admission $1.50
NEW YORK CENTER, 227 W. 46th St.
For Information Call ORegon 3-3800

IN MEMORIAM

GERTRUDE EVANS
Sunday, April 10 — age 81
She was in the forefront of all liberal activity for many years. She was a friend of Susan B. Anthony; she was a member of the first co-ed graduating class of Cornell University in 1901. She was an officer of the Progressive Party and one of the founders of the Washington Area Forum. Her friends all over the country, who are Guardian readers, will join in tribute to her memory.

DETROIT

From Israel!
The Electrifying . . .
ORANIM ZABAR
Featuring Geula Gill—only Detroit appearance
Thurs., May 5 8:20 p.m.
Scottish Rite Cathedral
Tickets $3.30, $2.75, $2.20, $1.65, at Grinnell's, Marwil's (Northland) and Global Books.

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CALENDAR

CHICAGO

SOVIET FILMS: See & Discuss: Thur., Fri., Sat., May 5, 6, 7 Eisenstein's "Alexander Nevsky"; Thur., Fri., Sat., May 12, 13, 14 Makarenko's "Pedagogical Poem" (based on "Road to Life"). Cross World Books, 333 S. Wacker Dr. (nr. Van Buren). 8:15 p.m. $1. Students 60c. HA 7-1042. 5th floor.

DETROIT

CULTURAL FESTIVAL CELEBRATING MAY DAY 1960
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- **LABOR & NATIONAL SONGS & DANCES**
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Donation $1 Unemployed Invited
Auspices: United May Day Committee

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NEW YORK

MONTHLY REVIEW ASSOCIATES invites you to hear a
REPORT ON CUBA
MAY 4, 8:30 P.M.
Speakers:
RAUL ROA KOURI
Minister Plenipotentiary, Alternate Delegate to the UN
LEO HUBERMAN
PAUL M. SWEEZY
editors of Monthly Review who have just returned from Cuba
CHAIRMAN: DR. J. RAYMOND WALSH
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Community Center, 270 W. 89 St.
Tickets $2, $2.50 SP 7-6193

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201 Second Ave. Near 12th St.
Everyone Welcome Cont. $1

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CUBA
Fri., April 29 8:30 p.m.
Polonia Club, 201 2nd Ave.
Movies, refreshments. Adm: $1.
Ausp: East Side Labor Press Club.

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with the Food Workers at a real bang-up party in honor of our union builders—Sam Kramberg, Bill Albertson and others. Sun., May 1, from 4 p.m. till ? Avlon Studio, 220 W. 43 St. (off B'way). Buffet Supper-Entertain't — Cont. $1.50

DR. HERBERT APTHEKER
speaks on
The Developments in the South and Anti-Semitism
Sun., May 1, 8 p.m., Allerton Center, 683 Allerton Av., Bronx, Admission 50c.

METROPOLITAN FRATERNAL CLUB MEETS!
Fri. May 6 8:45 p.m.
Speaker:
DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN
Adelphi Hall 74 Fifth Av. Rm. 11D

SUN., MAY 1, 2:30 P.M.
Central Plaza Annex. 40 E. 7 St.
MAY DAY CELEBRATION
Speakers & Entertainment. Adm. Free. Ausp: New York Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

CELEBRATE MAY DAY!
Sun., May 1, 8 p.m. at
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Hear Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice-President **MYRA TANNER WEISS,** now in the South. Guest Speakers: Conrad Lynn, civil rights attorney; Fred Mazelis, on staff of Young Socialist; Elinor Ferry, Muriel McAvoy, William Price, former administrative committee member of United Independ.-Socialist Committee. Cont. $1; students, 50c. Auspices: N.Y. State Committee for Dobbs & Weiss, N.Y. Students for Dobbs & Weiss.

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THE GALLERY

THE NATIONAL RETAIL Merchants Assn. advised store owners: "Do not think of Mother's Day as a one-day or a one-week event. It's a three-week business festival." . . . At Camp Pendleton last month, 2,500 men of the 5th Marine Regiment took a 150-mile hike carrying 15-pound field packs and rifles. They marched eight hours a day, eating canned rations for breakfast and lunch and hot meals at dinner only. The hike lasted six days. When it was over, Major G. G. Dixon said that the purpose of the march was "to prove how tough they are." . . . Pvt. James Flynn of the British Royal Army is pretty tough in his own way. He staged a hunger strike and refused to get out of bed and wear his uniform. For this he was court-martialed and sentenced to six months in prison. He said his demonstration was to bring his conscientious objections to military service to the attention of authorities . . . Londoners who dial C-H-I-C-K-E-N on the telephone get a company which will deliver cooked chickens to any part of town . . . The Valley National Bank in Phoenix, Ariz., ran a contest among its employes to select a name for its new electronic accounting system. Bank officials chose "George," which the winning contestant said came from the expression "Let George do it." Another entry which the employes preferred was "NITRO," meaning "not intended to replace officers."

THIS IS A CASE that could reach the Danish Supreme Court: Referee Henning Erikstrup at a soccer match in Copenhagen lost his false teeth just as he was about to blow the final whistle and spent several minutes looking for them. While he was bent over searching the ground, one of the teams scored a goal which tied the game. But after Erikstrup found his teeth, re-inserted them and blew the whistle ending the game, he disallowed the goal and declared a winner. The losing team protested vigorously, pointing out that the game was not over officially until the whistle was blown. Erikstrup conceded the point but added: "I simply had to get my teeth back. Otherwise, some player might have put his big boot on them and crushed them." . . . The Minnesota Industrial Commission awarded $70 to Donald Naylor in workmen's compensation because while he was working at a granary, dust caused him to sneeze, dislodging a $70 false tooth that was lost in the grain . . . When seventh graders at a Redwood City, Calif., school were polled on "What would you do if you had a million dollars?", Mike Perrazzo replied: "I refuse to answer on the grounds that it may tend to incriminate me." . . . "Race relations between whites and blacks have never been as good as they are at present."—M. D. C. De Wet Nel, South Africa's Minister for Native Affairs.

U. E. Canadian News
"Come, come, Gus. Not everyone that orders the business men's lunch is anti-labor!"

DR. MARVIN POLLARD told a meeting of California executives: "If I wanted to hire an associate, I'd hire the man with an ulcer." The typical ulcer victim, he said, is an intense, intelligent, city-dwelling male who lacks confidence in his own ability and consequently works like blazes to make sure no one gets ahead of him . . . Soviet literary circles are discussing widening the group of American writers and works published in the U.S.S.R. One writer in **Literature and Life** recommended translations of works by Thomas Wolfe, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Norman Mailer, James Jones and "that highly controversial but definitely interesting dramatist Tennesee Williams." . . . "I bless this car and also all of your cars—I assume you all have one. A benediction to all of you, with or without cars."—Pope John XXIII to Notre Dame alumni who gave him a $12,000 Cadillac . . . The new American Embassy building in London has caused a bit of a stir. The building in Grosvenor Square is of stark, modern design, as out of place as a cricket match in Yankee Stadium. But Marcus Lipton, Labor MP for Brixton, is particularly annoyed at a 35-foot aluminum eagle that is soon to be placed on top of the building. In Parliament he asked: "What is London going to look like if all the foreign governments represented here set up monstrous national emblems on the sites they occupy?" R. Furneaux Jordan of the London **Observer** thought the controversy was "false." He said: "The eagle is consistent with the architecture, which in its turn is consistent with the tragedy of Americanism."

—Robert E. Light

One man's experience

SEWAL, IOWA

I am very pleased to inform you that I am being cured of arthritis due to my follow-up of an ad which appeared in your columns about "The U.S.S.R. Treatment for Serious and Chronic Ailments Frequent in Middle and Old Age" and also the similar material on "The Rumanian Treatment for Old Age Using Substance 'H-3'" edited by Charlotte and Dyson Carter and sold through Northern Book House, Box 1000, Gravenhurst, Ontario.

My doctors had read about the above treatments in American magazines some year or so ago, however they had thought that there was too much ballyhoo and not enough scientific approach and material to warrant even trying on one person. It seems that the material which I gave them was very objective, showing a good scientific approach and full directions. I am sure that many others will now try to get the same treatment, since I am showing so much improvement.

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OUR FAVORITE IMPORTER picked up several hundred yards of exquisite, rough-textured silk, made it up into beautiful skirts, and agreed to part with just six dozen for GBS customers. It's so new that we haven't had time to have a picture made, but take our word for it, they are exceptionally beautiful, in half-inch stripes on a light gray background. The stripes come in four colors only—predominantly green and black, two-tones of blue and gray, charcoal and black, and red, white and blue! They are available only in sizes 24-26-28 and 30—sorry, no 32's or 34's. You would have to pay at least $10 for such skirts at your favorite store, but we can bring these to you for only $7.25

Smart, hand-woven, heavy-cotton Guatemala skirts in solid colors with white decorations, or multi-colored decorations. $10

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Yes, now you can get the lovely Guatemala skirts in mother-daughter combinations! Children's suspender skirts like mother's are available in the red or royal blue (see above, with white decorations) or navy blue with multi-color decorations.

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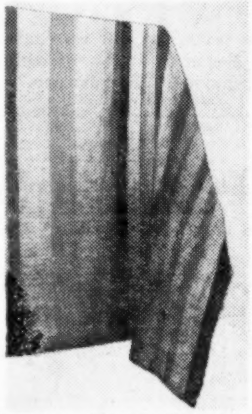

MADRAS SPREADS — The same exciting cotton "throws" we offered last year, in colorful stripes of varying colors. This year we are carrying them only in the most popular twin-bed size, 72" x 108", in three basic color combinations—predominantly blue, predominantly green, or predominantly brown ... ONLY $6.25

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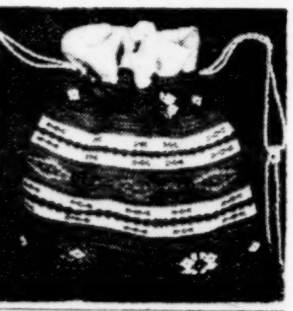

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Many who followed the day-to-day reports of Nikita Khrushchev's mission to the U.S. last year must have wished that there would one day be a permanent record of those twelve days. And here it is, in a beautifully bound library edition of 405 lively—and often amusing—pages. Here is the give-and-take with "Comrade Greek" (Spyros Skouras) in Hollywood, the bitter exchanges with Walter Reuther in San Francisco, and the farewell TV speech.

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

An Easter meditation

Dr. Willard Uphaus has now passed both Christmas and Easter in jail for his "conscience's sake" (see p. 4). He spent the time of marking the resurrection in writing "An Easter Meditation; The Cross—Its Agony and Glory," which he sent to the GUARDIAN. It appears below.

BOSCAWEN, N.H.

EASTER, A SPRINGTIME FESTIVAL, is a time for new life and hope. Easter is not just a day; it is an experience. In the midst of the present world agony, when there is not one cross to think about but whole fields of crosses, men still refuse to accept defeat. In the presence of the fear of annihilation, they hold on to the hope that there will be a peaceful and triumphant future for people on this earth, even though selfishness and spiritual blindness will long put off the divine event.

Seen in its historical perspective the Easter season is a unifying period for all races and faiths. Jesus, in his life and teachings, was the fulfillment of the ethical and spiritual ideals of the Old Testament prophets. He shattered concepts of the man-made barriers of class and color, leading to the persecution of minorities, with concepts of the universal brotherhood of all men and the Fatherhood of God. He again and again dumfounded the bigoted and self-righteous by the divine recklessness with which he worked with all people without discrimination—with peasants and the well-to-do, with Gentiles and Jews, with publicans and sinners.

EASTER AND PASSOVER have much in common, because Christians and Jews find in their respective festivals a challenge and a renewal. For Christians the silence and solemnity of Good Friday and the expectation of Saturday turn to rejoicing on Sunday morning. As Christians are remembering Lent and Easter, Jewish families are celebrating the Passover in their homes and synagogues. Jesus, as a lad, often went to Jerusalem for the Passover Feast, and he was in Jerusalem when he met his death. The Passover is the time for reciting again the story of the way Moses led the Israelites out of bondage of the Pharoahs. It is the festival of freedom.

Because of the common heritage shared by Christians and Jews, it is a strange and perverse habit that some Christians still have of using the crucifixion and the Easter season as a time to stigmatize the Jews as Christ-killers. True enough, there were Jewish leaders at the time of Jesus, who did not represent the interests of the people and who joined with Rome in putting him out of the way. They were, according to the New Testament accounts, scribes and Pharisees who devoured widows' houses and who prided themselves in their long prayers, but were short on justice and mercy. They could rationalize that Jesus' crucifixion was entirely legal. In all ages persons who have vested interests to protect, who cling to the status quo, have resented the burning condemnations of the prophet. This is a human and not a racial sin. We must not forget that Jesus' disciples were Jews. After he left them the full meaning of his life burst upon them, and they were transformed from fearful peasants into unflinching teachers of righteousness.

THE EASTER HERITAGE, if understood in relation to the evil forces that brought Jesus to the cross, has an unusual significance for the multitude of unrequited toilers and for all those that a cruel world pushes to the wall. Jesus was the son of a carpenter who became skilful in the use of tools. From the earliest moments of his life his thoughts and aspirations were the thoughts and aspirations of the outcast and downtrodden. His advice to visit those in prison was inspired not only by a love of those who had gone afoul of the law but by his full awareness of a society that had helped bring about their downfall.

History associates Jesus with the ancient lowly. Those who know the history of labor know that many of its leaders who loved justice more than their own lives suffered martyrdom. Many who can recall some of the more recent campaigns to organize the basic industries remember beatings, imprisonment and even death. The final courage and the immortality that flows from it are forever celebrated in "Joe Hill." "I never died," says he, "I never died . . . What they forgot to kill went on to organize."

THOUGHTS ABOUT THE CROSS of Good Friday and the resurrection of Easter morning hurl us headlong into one of the profound mysteries of the universe. It would be easier if we were all wise and good enough to organize our lives together so effectively that we could redeem the world from the hell of poverty, the cruelty of bigotry, the sting of oppression and the curse of war without a single cross or fields of crosses—or possibly now the obliteration of the human race. There will always be tension because of the great distance between where we are and where we would like to be; but the tensions are often slow in being relieved because we mistake pomp and ceremony for ethical living.

There is a seeming contradiction in life in that pain endured for the emancipation of our brothers brings exaltation. We would escape the grief of social rejection and misrepresentation; but to endure brings greater peace than turning away from the call ringing in our ears. There is both a humanity and a theology of the cross. Just as in the time of Jesus the heartache of Friday does not black out the joy of Easter Sunday.

—Willard Uphaus